/438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have frankly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

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13. Technical Skills

511 The material possessions of these southernmost Fuegians seem at first glance unusually frugal and poor. If we look more carefully, however, we are surprised at the considerable variety of implements and tools. Hence, our natives are not altogether destitute. In the variety of their utensils they without doubt considerably surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. The canoe alone is such an inestimably valuable means of transportation that it cannot be compared with travel on foot.

• 182 176 The environment into which our Yamana were placed was a good teacher. With their own resourcefulness and keen gift of observation, with the knowledge gained by experience through short, successive generations, they finally created weapons and tools of such high efficiency that it could hardly be noticeably increased within the possibilities of development originally afforded them. Anyone who will make an effort to gain an insight into the mechanics of each of the implements used by the Fuegians and the physical forces operating it will pay high tribute to their creative power.

Even Bridges (k):240 who was in a position to observe them for decades in closest proximity bowed to their ability, and offered the following brilliant testimony, probably with not a little inner resistance: "The natives have evolved all the qualities most /NOT/ useful for the life they live; their canoes are perfect specimens of their kind and the same can be said of all their utensils and implements. With the material at their disposal I do not know how these could be improved. They are perfectly adapted to the soil and climate of the country in which they live" /translated from Spanish/. Behind the unprepossessing form and the pitiful simplicity of Fuegian implements is hidden an unsurpassed suitability.

463 In general each person makes what he needs in material possessions with his own hands and for himself alone. Exceptions are those things which, in the normal household life, are needed by the family or by the husband and wife equally, and which, accordingly, he provides for her and she for him. Manufacture is, therefore, an individual matter. There is no special class of

/223 cont./

63 7 63 beauty, the particular shape of the weapon or implement, in accordance with his own personal convenience, according to his bent and taste, depending on how he has practiced making it or is in the habit of doing it differently. From this arise the differences between the utensils of one man and another, between such small things as baskets, sewing work, and so forth, which one Indian woman or another will make for herself alone.

41 Because each weapon and each tool fits its maker's own hand, so to speak, it follows that each person has great dexterity in handling his own articles. /111/ Time and again their suppleness and accuracy of aim, their sure grip and controlled fist, their ability to make estimates, and their sharp eye have been justly regarded with awe and wonder by Europeans (226). It is true

226. Many agree with Bove's (p) 226 judgment concerning their weapons, that the Fuegians "know how to handle them with marvelous dexterity and precision" /translated from Italian/.

that with constant practice everyone can accomplish a great deal. Many a European who has tried to use the sling or the harpoon or some other native implement has gone about it very awkwardly and become the laughing stock of the Indians.

The fact that no one owns more than one extra utensil of those most frequently needed is an indication of self-confidence. The less a person must carry around with him on his constant travels, the more comfortable it is for him and the freer he feels. It is only when want and need force him to remove the loss of an implement that he instantly and decisively sets to work. Since not even the thought of his own needs forces our Indian to make this or that object in order to have it on hand, how much less can we expect him to make anything for barter.

42 Our Fuegians procure and make their implements with little effort. They manipulate them very adroitly and readily. They can depend absolutely on their own ability and the effectiveness of their weapons (227). What, therefore, should press and drive

227. Every careful observer will agree

/511 cont./

with Spears (7). "One may doubt whether the Yahgan canoe shows greater ingenuity than Yahgan weapons and implements for obtaining food do" /Aimed in English/.

them to give up their material culture. If unconquered, they justify their adherence to the old, their preservation of the things inherited from their fathers, on the grounds that they suffice perfectly for their modest needs and the necessities of their life. The form and construction of their tools represent maximum efficiency within the framework of what is available to them. With these material means they have made their lives comfortable, pleasant, and honestly dignified. The words of Despard b):680 with regard to the merits of the bark canoe apply absolutely to all their utensils: "For no improvements are thought of; what served the Indian across the sea for a passage, and would never b departed from for a thousand generations" /Aimed in English. They have taken over infinitesimally little from European --ron, for example. The basic form of their implements has remained unchanged for many centuries.

E. Obtaining Food

181 261 The Indian's sole and vital care is centered on the necessary food. His thought and concern day and night are on his subsistence. If he has an exceptionally abundant supply, he feels extraordinarily relieved, and free of care, he abandons himself /512/ to always desired rest. Ordinarily, however, the threat of hunger keeps him on the move day after day, forces him to abandon his hut and change his camp, goads him to a canoe trip or a journeyon foot, all depending on whether the prospect of hunty beckons here or there (228).

228. According to Despard (b):679, these Indians live only for the business of obtaining food: "The great want with them

262 /557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (SAM.III,116,1908): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/. In SD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

222 462 It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necesary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

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179 in the abundant middens of the Magellanic archipelago are urgently needed and may furnish us with important information on the past of the natives" /cited in English/. Furlong (r):178 entertains the same hopes.

carried out in the Fuegian refuse-layers to bring to light a number of finds that differ from those already known? In my opinion there is no prospect of this. The seaward wall of the individual shell mounds has actually been washed down by the waves to the water line, and unfamiliar forms of implements have not appeared. If possibly we might assume a lifting of the land (p. 344), it would be an absurdity to suppose that the customary dwellings were placed so close to the water line below sea level, and that gradually a wall of mussel shells had been built up around them.

Those strata which today are at the bottom of the mighty shell heaps were laid down many centuries ago. The implements they cover are similar to those used among our Indians up to the present time. No proof of a population preceding the Yamana, with a different form of culture and way of life has hitherto been discovered in the Beagle Channel area, nor can we expect it from further investigations there.

H. The Nomadic Life

182 The home of the Yamana is bleak and unfriendly, nature behaves wildly and brutally, and serious dangers threaten every Indian family who, in their frail canoe, cross the fragmented island realm. Nevertheless, not everything here is bad and disadvantageous; /612/ there are a few benefits and compensations. Weather conditions are anything but good, it is true, but at least the temperature is somewhat uniform, and the cool summer is matched by a cooler winter. Here, too, the inexhaustible sea pours out its bounty, so that the Indians can comfortably provide for their sustenance throughout the entire year. Concerning the food supply the Yamana are far more favorably situated than the neighboring Selk'nam. There are a few differences within our tribe, however, insofar as the families on the southern coasts are considerably

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182 hindered in their search for food by the force of storms and waves, as compared to the people in the sheltered channels (414). For

414. With remarkable emphasis Hahn (c):338 describes the advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of the inner Beagle Channel as contrasted to the people on the outlying islands.

the groups affected, these and other disadvantages are onerous, but they do not change any basic features of the economic life led by the Yamana, for they all live in environmental conditions that are essentially similar.

It is these conditions which have exercised strong, in part inevitable pressure in the shaping of the economy. The Indian is proud of the latter as a creation of his mental powers, and he is fully justified. He must yield to the pressure of the environment to the extent that only an acquisitive gathering-economy is possible for him. This, however, he has developed so favorably for himself that, with little effort, he obtains what he needs for a human existence and what he desires for his well-being. He has not been able to lift himself beyond his dependence on the environment to become its sovereign ruler; nevertheless, he has made it subservient to himself up to the limit of his completely human mental capacity.

1. The Roving Spirit

181 The Yamana are a peculiarly restless band. They can never remain long in one spot. When they are sitting together, first one and then another will leave the circle to look around by himself or to walk a few steps. If a family has built their hut somewhere, they are impelled to leave it again no later than the third day. An inner unrest moves these people, which they themselves cannot account for, because they were born with it. It is only strikingly noticeable to a European, it sometimes annoys him very much, for example, when he has employed Indians on

/613 cont./

181 will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

182 Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abstractly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

462 502 The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

/623 cont./

487 crosses the streams by fording them" /translated from French/.

[B97] If the water is high and there is a strong current, the shores are connected by means of two sticks or short trunks and thus bridged. BD:78 gives ukilaaraxteka, "to put logs or beams, etc., across a stream to form a bridge" /cited in English/. As I learned, however, this kind of unsteady construction is very seldom made.

4. Nomadic Life, the Result of Environmental Conditions

•182 In the beginning we emphasized the fact that the Yamana are forced to lead a migratory life because of their environment, or because of conditions in their homeland. They did not respond to this necessity purely mechanically, but, applying their mental powers, they have organized a form of economy that seems to be the best possible adaptation to their environment (440).

440. On September 18, 1858, Despard wrote in his diary: "The Fuegians in themselves cannot be other than they are" /cited in English/ and explains this in detail on the basis of negative arguments (VP:VI, 83;1859). Bridges (k):240 furnishes the following positive account: "The natives have developed all the more useful qualities for the life they lead: their canoes are perfect for their kind, and as much can be said for all their utensils and implements. With the materials at their disposal I do not see how they could be improved. They have adapted themselves perfectly to the land and climate in which they find themselves" /translated from Spanish/. The words of Crawshay:XXIII with regard to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 306) applies without qualification to our Yamana: "Judged from the point of view of the Land they inhabit, they are perfect" /cited in English/.

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182 Thus the territory of the Yamaña shows a uniform character from one end to the other, for essentially the same natural conditions prevail everywhere and the total population is low.

The requirement of extraordinary mobility is linked with the form of economy created and adopted by the Fuegians, the only one possible there. At any one particular spot there are game and food for a single family for only one or two days; even if they wanted to stay longer, tormenting hunger would drive them on. To be heavily burdened with a quantity of tools and utensils, weapons, and clothing would soon prove unbearable. It is amazing to see how little in the way of material possessions our natives can get along with. They are not in the least hampered by them for quick, flexible movement. Even the indispensable canoe is so light in weight and can be /624/ manipulated on the water with so little effort, that these advantages could hardly be increased. Implements and weapons weigh almost nothing in the hands of the one who carries them; hence everyone can move quickly on land. Although, upon landing, the natives must exert themselves for about half an hour to erect a hut, they abandon the framework when they leave, since it can serve them again upon their return. In all their manipulations our Indians are agile and quick.

181 Their modesty and contentment fit in very well with all this and must probably be regarded as a result of the circumscribed simplicity of their material property. Everyone has adapted himself with such matter-of-factness to the meager conditions of life and to the perceptible limitations imposed on that region by a parsimonious and niggardly Nature, as though there were nothing better elsewhere. Everyone is content with his lot, and no one grumbles about his fate. At the same time he is fully aware of his sovereign superiority over the blind forces of nature, and his confidence of victory incessantly drives him toward new risks or more difficult acts. His mental ability and his implements are completely sufficient for him. Hence he has, for many decades and with superior disdain, rejected all kinds of things from Europeans and, in satisfied self-sufficiency, has tenaciously clung to the traditional implements. With perceptive appreciation of all this, even Bridges (k):240 has defended our experienced, capable

/625 cont./

177 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight
181 to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without pre-occupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Cafe for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives
181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does
171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

/626 cont./

182 means to deny the historically demonstrated connection of the basic factors of certain types of economy, for the latter do actually exist and around them are entwined the locally conditioned separate structures. In the total picture of general cultural events within human society, the external conduct of life of our Yamana deserves a particular, even a favored place, inasmuch as it has maintained itself from its earliest beginnings up to the time of European intervention cut off from outside influences by practically impenetrable natural barriers. /Fig. 76 appears here./

/627/ Part 3

Social Organization and Tribal Custom

The external form of life of the Yamana is that of an acquisitive gathering-economy closely dependent on given natural conditions. Just as the environment decisively influences the total economy, determining its form, so does this form of economy very definitely determine the specific social organization. The latter, in turn, rests on the independence of each individual family, with its special capacities and social performances. "The kind of subsistence which predominates in a social group, the form of their production which is not arbitrarily chosen but determined by certain conditions of life, directly or indirectly shapes all other ideas and actions of that society. If we know what a people eats, we also know what it is" (Grosse:25). This dependence of the social organization upon the form of economy, which has been proved among other primitive peoples, is also very definitely true of the Fuegians, especially of our Yamana.

594 The invariable obligation of a nomadic people to gather food without pause excludes a stratified organization of the whole society. Its sole supporting pillar is the individual family. In the form of a monogamous single marriage, the family appears as the universal, narrowly circumscribed, definitely determined social structure. Not only is it bounded by strong safeguards, but even from the start, as soon as a marriage is planned, certain conditions which guarantee its permanence and its natural function

[Text continues on page 386.-Analyst]

/649 cont./

584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
626 ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!". In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
● 182 comparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

/661 cont./

606 and lances for lance-shafts. In short, they help their parents-in-law in every way and outwardly show them far more veneration than their own parents. A son-in-law would neither demand anything of them nor borrow anything. More than that, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law must also display a certain reserve toward the brothers and sisters of their parents-in-law, although it is not inadmissible to exchange brief words with them occasionally. Every man, however, can associate freely with the grandparents of his wife (43).

43. In the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law there are remarkable similarities between the Yamana and the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 332) and the Halakwulup (Vol. III).

177 European civilization, disrupting everything, has done away
●182 with many regulations formerly respected by the Yamana as sacred laws. For this reason, disgraceful disorders have met no opposition among the remaining survivors of the tribe. Older Indians whose principles are the same as those of their ancestors and who are helpless to stop this confusion complain bitterly and deeply regret the uncontrollable decline of their entire nation.

b. Married Life

591 With the marriage ceremony, independent life begins for the
593 newly wedded couple. They are no longer dependent upon their own parents, and as a newly established conjugal union, they find themselves standing on their own feet. There is no definite rule about the time when the newlyweds break away from their parents. It depends on the position of the family of the bridegroom or of the bride. In exceptional cases, the young people remain with their elders until they have their first child.

The young man does not find it difficult to turn his back on the parental hut; he has long felt the urge for personal /662/ independence and the desire for the unimpeded development of

/692 cont./

589 888 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g] :35) (106). Aside

> 106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

•182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

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182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

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C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

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"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/!

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):333 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

[182] Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

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1. Occasion and Duration

X881 182 The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's: 255 observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits, "that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear at a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the čiéxaus. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

X881 182 571 Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. It is only within the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 336). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

1: Guiñde--665 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

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the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the cíkvaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the cíkvaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the cíkvaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

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families will remain together for a longer time, especially if favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

From this account we can easily see how the many circumstances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the duration of a cíexaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uiwíala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uiwíala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important cíexaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new cíexaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kina celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

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Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

Every participant retains his absolute property rights over the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut. Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

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The čiéxaus training is designed to enrich the candidates mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the ulwáia, since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive harshness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Fuegians has given them very fine and sure results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

Obviously the čiéxaus institution is thought of first of all as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge to celebrate the youth initiation once again!" This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the čiéxaus secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the buttressing principles.

1: Gusinde--775 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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X881 182

They zealously see to it that every grown child without exception experiences the spirit and meaning of the initiation, as though the stability of their tribal life would be strongly shaken and the pattern of their social life broken up if some young person had no opportunity to do this. They believe that they have done a service to the people as a whole if, from time to time, they loudly demand that this event take place. This is the /905/ deeper meaning behind the constant urging of old people for the Čiéxaus celebration, the necessity of it for the adults and for the society itself; it is not exclusively the duty of letting boys and girls experience it. As a result, the participants accept without demur anything in the way of unpleasantness and restrictions of their liberty that happens to them when they enter the Great Hut. All of them are animated by the strong desire to conform exactly with the important obligation handed down from early times. He willingly endures all the physical exertion demanded by the daily program and the curtailment of personal freedom that every participant voluntarily accepts.

It seems to show an intolerant spirit of pettiness that these Fuegians in our day dare not relax any of the rigid formality of the prevailing order. With perverse unreasonableness they pay strict attention to what is important and what is unimportant, so that nothing is diluted or mitigated, nothing is distorted or omitted of all that has been handed down. They have lived and still live in the conviction that only a relentlessly rigid persistence in the traditional pattern will assure the continuance of their ethnic unity.

If, nevertheless, in the last two decades many things have been given up or curtailed or changed for the sake of the new spirit of the times, this has occurred as a result of the manifest knowledge of the younger people that their tribe is already in the process of dissolution. Today even the youth initiation could not bring about the firm cohesion of fellow-countrymen on the traditional basis of former times. With deep insight Nelly once complained to me: "The former strict order has for some time disappeared from the Čiéxaus, we Yamana will not last much longer [as an ethnic unit]!" The experience of the vast world of primitive peoples confirms the fact that as soon as obligatory social

1: Gyninde--776 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 5116 Yahgan 5116

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X881 182 arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original strictness and the serious spirit of the Kina celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1920. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many comforts which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Santiago, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much looser. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax comforts, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Kina gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/906/ α. General Regulations

X881 185 It is well known that every Yamana who has twice gone through the Kina ceremony as ulwala may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Great Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

X881 624 Inasmuch as the Kina is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Great Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

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his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "aw[illegible]!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the u[illegible]la left the [illegible] hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

The wincfiala called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "[illegible], no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that no-one looks!" Response: "aw[illegible]!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

While the low singing continued, old Class spoke: "Nowadays the u[illegible]la are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the u[illegible]la the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

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X881 182 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

X881 625 After a few minutes the winefkéwa called one last time: "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the uswáala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the čiéxaus hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the winefkéwa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the čiéxaus hut.

X881 524 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program in the čiéxaus hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious čiéxaus celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uswáala.

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d. Conclusion of the Celebration

X881 Chance and many imponderable influences were the decisive factors in bringing about the čiéxaus celebration (p. 664). They are also paramount in concluding this affair. From the very beginning no one commits himself to a definite period for the exercises and social intercourse; without concern the group yields to the circumstances of the moment that may advise termination. This is not a disorderly dispersal of the participants, however, but a regulated formality. Here, too, the Yamana taste for formal control and their appreciation of formality come through strongly. The individual customs that terminate the long youth initiation are just as important to them as the individual features of the daily program, and both are given the same attention. It would be a psychological outrage to assume that the whole group or the majority of participants would forgo the concluding ceremonies.

Even at the end of the long period of being together, the basic idea dominating the čiéxaus clearly and characteristically comes through, namely, that the mature young people should now be introduced into the group of adults as useful members of the tribe and that the individual families form a closed community, united for mutual protection and for the preservation of the tribe as a whole. Every adult and every youthful participant leaves the čiéxaus hut with renewed eagerness to practice the prevailing virtues of the tribe, and the memory of the čiéxaus hut stays with him as an effective guide for future independent action.

1. Reasons for Termination

X881 ● 182 As we have said, our Yamana do not pledge themselves to a definite period of time for the initiation, but they do hold themselves to one positive and by no means unimportant commitment: concern for the success of the candidates' training. It is no mere accident that the Yamana in the čiéxaus, like the Selk'nam in their Kloketen celebration (Vol. I, 1047), /948/ plan to stay until the training goal for the uswáala seems to have been achieved (363).

363. Some of the external circumstances which

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caused the termination of the men's ceremony among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1050) have the same effect in ending the youth initiation among our Yamana. In Tierra del Fuego calamitous natural forces are, after all, stronger than human wishes and desires.

The old people know very well that during the few weeks of training neither the young fellow nor the mature girl will become a wholly adult human being. Up to a certain point, however, they can judge whether the principles of life presented have made a sufficiently strong impression on them and whether they have acquired enough manual dexterity or skill so that with further practice they can achieve the requisite proficiency. External forces, of course, act directly and powerfully on the conclusion, and they can even push aside the consideration mentioned above.

In spite of all the precautions taken at the beginning, it sometimes happens that a serious food shortage develops during the course of the celebration. Even though the adults and the candidates are content with little food, at least this amount must be easily obtainable. If the people have been attracted to a place by a stranded whale, they pay no attention to how much of their customary food is to be found there, and they realize the actual state of affairs only when the huge animal has been cut up and consumed by the many people. If they are obliged to undertake excessively long journeys in their canoes or on treks through the woods and over rocks in order to obtain the required quantities of meat, the daily program cannot be carried on without considerable interruption. They must then either look for a new camping place or break up the meeting.

Sometimes the unfavorableness of the site is recognized only after some time. The change of season, for example, will alter the condition of the ground very considerably, so that floods and the saturation of the earth or piled-up snow will irrevocably force them to move the whole camp. Adverse air currents or strong eddies, for example, will so unpleasantly and so frequently hamper canoe trips that food-seeking is impossible for days. It may

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X881 even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in
•182 a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

[731] It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the čiẽxaus hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for yamalašemõina, the great ceremony of mourning.

X881 In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the čiẽxaus celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the čiẽxaus celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the uẽwẽala

X881 /958 cont./ blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

X881 Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn
●182 Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been
177 relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

X881 On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a con-
182 siderable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an ušwáala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as ušwáala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

X881 Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation
182 was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition.
596 A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the čiéxaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkéxa, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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X881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswáala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

X881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

X881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswáala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswáala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

X881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

/960 cont./

X881 and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancestors. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

X881 The čiẽxaus celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the čiẽxaus hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general trends, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):45.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the čiẽxaus hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the čiẽxaus celebration (375),

> 375. The youth initiation of the Halakwulup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (o):541 and Schmidt (d):977.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

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183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity
183 at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and
● 182 objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertain-
626 ing to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaśemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual rep-
● 182 resentatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

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773 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological ma-
•182 terial has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

538 On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

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X 756 166 and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomosh dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1056). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yékamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual ūlulufáala. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1042), is related to ūlūuf in BD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

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342. Bridges (i):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Nelly Lawrence said in all seriousness: "Since our késpiš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily brooding during the day, the yékamuš must sing /1435/ and soon bring back the késpiš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the késpiš of dead yékamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as true Yamana.

X 756 ● 182 If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine-man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of our Yamana or to the

/1435 cont./

X756 basic features of their mental attitude. Legend puts the origin
●182 of the medicine-man system outside the boundaries of present-day Yamana territory and connects it with the Kina. Mašemikens designated Hešpul, Yo'okalia, and other birds as the first yékamuš (pp. 1268, 1271 /both untranslated/). "They taught their art to a few people and that is how it came to us!" There is no connection between the medicine-man system and the other institutions of our Fuegians; it is clearly a peculiar form within their culture as a whole.

G. Mental Capacity

181 No people on American soil has been rated as low and es-
114 teemed as little by the entire European world as our Yamana. The seed for this unjust opinion was sown by the crew of the Dutch fleet of L'Hermite, the first Europeans seen by the inhabitants of the Cape Horn Archipelago (p. 50 /untranslated/). The description that enjoyed the most notoriety was the inadequate and inaccurate account set down by Charles Darwin, then 22 years old (p. 97 /untranslated/). Although he occasionally made an accurate statement in his writings (343) and, as an old

> 343. He (f):I, 234 said: "The Fuegians belong among the lowest savages; I was constantly surprised, however, at how closely the three Fuegians on board the 'Beagle' ...resembled us in general traits and in most of our mental abilities."

man, changed his opinion very much in favor of our Fuegians (p. 106 /untranslated/), nevertheless this did not effect the bias of the general public. Anyone who leafs through the amazingly large number of accounts by missionaries (p. 146 /untranslated/) will find it strange that the latter almost uniformly speak disparagingly, indeed, contemptuously of the mental performance of these natives, and their opinions of them have not improved despite decades of contact. Bridges outdoes all the other

/1436 cont./

181 Experts on primitive peoples soon cast doubt upon the trust-
114 worthiness of all those reports on Tierra del Fuego, and from in-significant accounts as well as fair judgments, they brought out many a favorable detail. Waitz:507 emphasized: "One must not believe that the mental dullness [of the Fuegians] prevails throughout among them...The four Fuegians whom Captain Fitz-Roy took with him to London showed altogether good qualities." Ratzel:I, 520 appreciates their material possessions and social institutions. Beyond that he declares: "The more one learned of their sensibilities and mental capacities upon closer contact, the higher one evaluated them in this respect. The Fuegians, even though they are oppressed by the misery of their situation, are basically Indians like all the rest. The inadequate results of missions cannot prove anything to the contrary." Thus, if the Yamana are judged to be genuine Indians, they must also be regarded as capable human beings. The fact that they are indeed such is convincingly proved by their way of life which has been described in the foregoing pages. The following pages will be a not inconsiderable supplement to this. It seems strange to us who have been privileged to obtain such deep insight into the mental life of most of the primitive peoples still available today that it seems necessary to prove that the Yamana, too, are altogether human beings.

/1437/ a. Mental Power and Sensory Activity

153 I regard as beside the point the oft-repeated question as to
● 182 whether the Yamana are an "intelligent people" and capable of meeting the demands of our culture. One will obtain a just evaluation of their mental powers only after he has learned to understand the Fuegians with respect to their mastery of their environment. They have adapted themselves excellently to their country: they have learned to use the available materials for serviceable implements and have asserted their superiority in their struggle with the forces of nature. Indeed, they maintain themselves in their environment and have attained several not inconsiderable achievements of which many Europeans would be

/1437 cont./

153 incapable if they were suddenly transplanted to that environment.
182 The totality of their cultural possessions, properly understood as having been fashioned from their natural surroundings, is persuasive testimony as to the mental capacities and well-developed senses that our Fuegians enjoy. They needed to develop their mental aptitude only to a certain degree, and were able to do so, in accordance with the external demands made on them. Once this equilibrium was achieved (345), there was not only a

> 345. Darwin did not see this state of equilibrium. Basing his discussion on the poverty of that corner of the globe, he (d):247 judges quite falsely: "How little the higher mental powers can be exercised here; what can the imagination picture there, what can reason compare, judgment decide? To break off a bowlful of mussels from a rock does not even require craftiness, this humblest mental capacity of an animal. In some respects their skill can be compared to animal instinct, for it is not refined by experience; their canoe, their most ingenious invention, miserable though it is, has remained the same for the last 250 years, as we know from Drake.

lack of pressure for greater accomplishments, but these would have resulted in a disturbance of the equilibrium. Hence there was an actual standstill, with a steadfast persistence throughout centuries in the particular form of culture with its many striking and insignificant details which was finally achieved after an inestimable number of separate experiences and which assures the Fuegian an adequately satisfying existence.

1. Mental Activity

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Far from being forced and led by blind instinct alone, the Yamana's actions often follow long, thorough consideration. He

/1438 cont./
have clung to it (346).

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346. It is meaningless to say, as Hyades (q):248 maintains about the mental capacities of our Yamana, "that they are little developed, are not applied to bettering existing conditions, and seem incapable of improvement" /translated from French/, or, as Lovisato (b):144 declares, "the Fuegians have little intelligence, very little memory, no retentiveness" /translated from Italian/.

182 The meager natural products that the region offers could probably not be better utilized for modest requirements than they have been by our Fuegians. In particular, the technical perfection of their weapons and implements should be noted (p.210), the efficiency of which could probably not be increased. Men, as well as women, have at their disposal only inadequate resources and raw materials. After all, the tools they use are their own handiwork. One must marvel at the usefulness and effectiveness of all the objects that their patient labor fashions from the rough material. The "artisans" pay careful attention to /1439/ beauty and regularity, which are, correspondingly, more or less praised by other people. Further endeavor and the urge to perfect a piece in order to achieve greater efficiency thus lie beyond the wish and will of the Yamana. For them the traditional goods are the best and most effective because they have been tested by previous generations. With these and similar words the retiring generation justifies itself to the rising generation for its definite resolve, in its own day, to cling to the form of culture achieved and handed down by their forefathers and to abide by it steadfastly (347). Recognizing the useful service of the dog,

347. Weddell (a):6 gave an incorrect explanation: "It has been denied that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have any capacity for mental development and they are credited with an animal instinct. I believe

/1439 cont./

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> this condition is merely the result of their remote location, and that it would soon improve with frequent visits from outsiders. I found them obliging and friendly, indeed, in some respects active and inventive."

which was introduced only about two centuries ago, they adopted this animal within a short time (p.292) and accordingly have used the bow and arrow less (p. 155). The material possessions that in recent times have passed from Europeans to the Yamana certainly do not represent an enrichment or an improvement of their conditions of life (p.382).

153 Anyone who compares the mental activity of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam will realize that there is an easily recognizable difference. The slowness of the Selk'nam in making decisions and their obvious perplexity in a suddenly altered situation is by no means as widespread among the Yamana. The latter are, by comparison, more animated, more active, and quicker in making decisions. It is particularly striking that the Yamana will immediately understand a joke or a humorous remark, whereas the Selk'nam almost always needs to have it explained. The two tribes, however, resemble one another in their amazing memory which does not fail them under any circumstances (Vol. I, 1089). This is especially true of their memory for places. Finally one must point out a very reliable gift of observation which has helped the Yamana to know in detail everything about their own country and to notice immediately any change. This gift also makes it possible for them to imitate exactly the movements and sounds of animals (348). They have

> 348. My statements are abundantly confirmed by definite examples given by Hyades (q):249 and by many statements of missionaries.

many opportunities to show this accomplishment, not only on the hunt or in the Kina, but especially in their social games.

/1480 cont./

524 him encircled and led him back to the xiexaus hut. It was only here that the victorious women released him amid loud hoots. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate masks for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.577); during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a):209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

182 The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

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• 182 functional implements. The bark canoe has no counterpart /1481/ anywhere in the wide world. Even that of the neighboring Halakwulup shows differences imposed by the material used. Could a more effective weapon be invented with such simple materials as those used by our Fuegian for his large harpoon? Using the possibilities offered by his environment and by existing conditions, he has created the characteristics of his form of economy.

Such achievements are true works of culture in the narrowest sense of the term, accomplished in the given locale. The ancestors of the Yamana, in their wanderings through the extensive American continent from the far north to the southernmost tip, possessed, of course, various cultural assets of a material and spiritual nature, which they brought with them to their ultimate homeland. However, all the special forms that have an "indigenous smell," if I may to express it, were created by these immigrants in Tierra del Fuego itself. This means true cultural progress beyond that enjoyed by those first newcomers up to that time, and by means of these accomplishments they actually made cultural history. All the new achievements with which they, as the first proven settlers of the Cape Horn Archipelago, must be credited were, to be sure, not transmitted to other peoples, because the Yamana have remained completely isolated. Nevertheless, this cultural heritage has absolute value and therefore is an enrichment of the culture of mankind as a whole. Moreover, the Yamana developed their achievements to the degree of perfection permitted by the material itself. If this limit had not been imposed, who could doubt that our natives commanded sufficient mental power to have accomplished even greater things. The environment itself made it impossible for them to develop further the economy they adopted. Moreno (d):578 is of the same opinion, that "this apparent inferiority is due to the land environment in which they obtain their food, principally by fishing in the fjords in their canoes" /cited in English/. When, after long observation and experimentation, those forms and peculiarities were chosen and permanently adopted, which made possible a calm equilibrium between the inhabitants' demands and necessities of life on the one hand, and the meager supply of raw material and the unpropitious living conditions of the Cape Horn Archipelago on the other,

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the Fuegian was satisfied with this harmonious balance. For that reason he stubbornly persisted in maintaining his traditional material heritage. Once he was offered from the outside the possibility of a slight change and a certain amount of progress through the introduction of the dog, he resolutely adopted it and made this new source of strength an integral part of his previous economic arrangements. This is proof enough that the limitations of the economic form actually achieved by the Fuegian were imposed upon him from the outside; there was still more vitality for progress within him, but it could not become effective.

/1482/ Fuegian social organization is closely connected with this state of affairs. A livelihood through gathering does not permit an organization of all tribal members and a close, permanent union. Their religious awareness culminates in the assumption of a personal Supreme Being with definite characteristics. The image of his deity that the Fuegian has created does not show any kind of environmental influence. Quite the contrary, it is the result of simple reflection, of a direct demand for causal thinking. It is quite different from mythological and superstitious conceptions.

Historical relationships between these Fuegians and other peoples, as well as comparisons of their culture with that of other ethnic groups, would be in order, for merely to ascertain facts, describe objects, and evaluate institutions is not culture history. I am well aware of this, and I shall comply with these justifiable demands in the third volume of this work. With abundant satisfaction I shall now conclude this long description. It presents a total picture of the strange and unique culture of this tribe of people that lived on the inhospitable southern tip of the Americas for centuries and has only recently been driven to destruction by the intrusion of European culture. The last two dozen surviving Yamana will soon have sunk into their graves. To this people misunderstood by Europeans for three centuries, the tossing, foaming waves of the eternally restless sea around Cape Horn will sing a never-ending dirge. /Fig. 105 appears here./

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

while the Yahgan speared them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of goose and five kinds of duck. The upland goose and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, doves, plover, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realized by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic place of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

feasible. Timber of many kinds is available—and with this we may contrast the condition of certain Eskimo who must rely on driftwood for some of their manufactures and on oil for their heat. Furthermore, animal foods are found by land and by sea in sufficient quantities to support a relatively large population of a non-agricultural, hunting class. 182

Clearly then some of the very primitive features we shall describe were not forced on the natives by their environment, but rather were the result of lack of ingenuity or of inertia.

CULTURE STATUS

Fuegian culture ranks among the most primitive that has been known within the limits of recorded history. To emphasize this statement we subjoin a list of all the articles and materials observed among the Ona and the Yahgan. This list at first glance seems fairly long, but one must consider that it embraces not only the individual but a complete family including both sexes and all ages. Further, it includes not what appeared for any given occasion but everything with which any Indian normally came in contact during an entire lifetime. In contrast, if the reader will list the objects he makes use of between bed and breakfast, he will find that in half an hour of daily routine he has utilized more articles and more materials than a Fuegian ever manipulated. 105

More justly, however, we should compare the Fuegian culture with the status usually found among Indian hunting tribes. On this basis we find that the Fuegians lacked such simple implements as the drill, the ax, the spear-thrower, fish-hooks, and cooking containers. They had no pottery, no weaving, no method of softening skins except by use, nor had they more than a rudimentary art of painting, while sculpture was beyond them. They rarely stored food against a time of stress. Their games, their social organization and ceremonies, were but slightly developed. Religion was largely a negative affair, for they indulged less in religious acts probably than any people known in the world in recent times. Animistic beliefs they had, but scarcely a trace of fetishism has been noted, and of totemism—so widely developed throughout the Americas—there is not a vestige.

In estimating this list it must also be borne in mind that the Ona and Yahgan cultures have intermingled especially along the frontier. In some instances, such as the initiation ceremonies or 105 177